1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 776 [481 526] The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was the *ko'iha u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the *ko'iha tuihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized particularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 266 The *ko'ina keana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human victims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

SPORTS AND GAMES

STILT WALKING

The form of stilts (*vaeake* or *tapu vae; hoki* on Ua Huka, *titoko* on Ua Pou) is shown in the accompanying sketch (fig. 27, *d*). The stilts with the elaborately carved foot-rests were undoubtedly those used ceremonially. Anciently stilts were made of *mi'o* or casuarina by professional stilt-makers (*tuhuna vaeake*). According to Linton they were "decorated with white tapa covered by ornamental lashings of red and black sennit (20). Those used for play by boys were doubtless made of *fau*, as are the stilts that boys amuse themselves with today—the foot-rests of these consist of a notched piece of wood lashed to the shaft.

The use of stilts was strictly forbidden to women. Contests between champions of tribes constituted the central feature of one of the great memorial feasts for the dead (see Festivals). The mode of conducting the contests is described in connection with that feast. A woman who had witnessed such a contest described the men of the opposing parties as filing into the dance area in two long lines. Langsdorff (18, pp. 136, 168-169) gives the following descriptions:

> The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength.
>
> At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this is accomplished, the person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shown by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty.

Boys today do a sort of dance on stilts, standing alternately on one and then the other foot and clapping the upper and lower ends of the free shaft against the ends of that holding the weight. I have been told that in the ancient days men used to be able to turn a sommersault, rotating the body heels-over-head. The shafts of the stilts were always held in the hand, never bound to the legs.

LANCE-THROWING

The sport called *teka* consisted in glancing light lances from the ground, with the object of attaining the greatest distance. The lance (*teka* or *tekao*) used was a pointed reed stem (*kakaho*) from one to two yards in length. The course would be any open and level roadway that offered a long enough straight-away. Two round-topped mounds (*uma*) a few

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 inches high, were made of hard-packed earth at either end of the course. It was on these that the spears were glanced. There were two sides (*keke*) of five men each. Each man had his own lance. All gathered at one *uma* and alternately threw their lances. The man whose spear went farthest on the first throw was called *keua*, the winner of the second was *fakia*, of the third *maiero*, of the fourth *fitu e vau*, and of the fifth and last throw *uarike*. After the first throw, the contestants went along the course, recovered their lances, and then threw the second round from the *uma* at the other end of the course—and so on throughout, changing ends at each throw. The side that won the majority of throws won the game and received applause of the spectators. It is said that skilled players could throw a lance more than two hundred yards.

There were two ways of throwing the lance. Sometimes it was merely held in the hand and glanced on the mound with a sideways motion of the arm. But frequently a cord was used, much greater distance being attained by throwing in this way. A cord (*aho*) four or five feet long was doubled and the ends were tied together. The knot was placed against the shaft of the lance midway between its ends, the doubled cord being then passed around the shaft and back over itself next the knot, (forming a loop around the shaft) and carried up along the shaft toward the forward end, so that as long as it was held taut the shaft was held in the loop. One finger was inserted in the doubled cord, while the rest of the fingers grasped the shaft. When the lance was thrown, the cord served to swing the reed forward until the shaft was released by the cord's being drawn up from the knot.

SHAM BATTLES

544 *Kaokao, pehihua,* or *kahuka* was a sham battle, in which opposing sides of men from different valleys threw chestnuts (*ihi*), young coconuts (*ehi*), young breadfruit (*mei*), candlenuts (*ama*), and even small stones (*kiva*), at each other. The opposing sides stood about fifty paces apart and had alternate turns at throwing. Each man had three chances at hitting any member of the opposing side, and only one man threw at a time. Men were severely wounded and sometimes killed in the game. The game continued until one side was so depleted by casualties that it had to give in. All the while they played, those who were being thrown at leapt and danced about, taunting the thrower and crying *"kaokao"* when a speeding missile would miss its mark. It is said that women sometimes played the game with oranges or limes.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

BOXING AND TRIALS OF STRENGTH

Dordillon (8) gives a number of terms for boxing (*kotehe*) and boxer (*makeruru, tepe, umoto, kere*); but, so far as I could ascertain, this sport was not practiced to any great extent by the natives in ancient times. Modern natives show little aptitude for it when matched against Tahitians. Melville wrote (23, p. 260) with reference to boxing that "The noble art of self-defence appeared to be regarded by them as the peculiar gift of the white man." Wrestling seems not to have been practiced as a sport.

FIGURE 27.—Games and dancing: *a*, a dancer's pleated skirt (after Christian, p. 128); *b*, trial of strength (*hemohemo*); *c*, form of the native kite; *d*, drawing of a carved stilt (after Edge-Partington and Heape, Series I, p. 42, No. 1).

In the game called *hemohemo* (*hemo*, to catch), two men or boys would sit opposite each other with right arms crooked and resting on right knees, grasping each other's right hands. The contest was a trial of strength, each attempting to force downward or outward the arm of the other. (See fig. 27, *b*.)

WATER SPORTS

Swimming (*kau*, to swim), practically never indulged in by modern adult natives, is described best for us by Langsdorff (18, pp. 169-170):

> The dexterity of these people in swimming is another thing that excited no small astonishment in us. It is not easy to conceive . . . how men have accustomed themselves half to live in the water. They seem to be able to do just as they please there: they will remain nearly in the same place for a long time together, as if they were standing upright, so that the head and shoulders are above the water, guiding themselves solely by the feet. They will shell and eat a coconut in the water, or bring a number of things for barter tied together at the end of a stick, which they hold up high above the water, to keep them from being wetted. I have seen them swim with little children on their shoulders, or throw themselves from steep high rocks into the sea; and they would much rather swim over a creek than go a step around to get to

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 481 the other side. Some of them would swim about the ship for the greatest part of the day, without ever appearing tired. Mufau . . . has of his own accord run up the main-mast many times together, and thrown himself from it into the sea, to the great astonishment of the spectators. . . . It was impossible to see, without equal shuddering and astonishment, how he would spring from such a height, and balance himself in the air for some seconds with his feet drawn up against his body, so as to keep his head up: from the force of the fall, and the great weight of his body, he came with so violent a plunge into the water, that several seconds elapsed before he appeared again upon its surface.

Surf riding (*hoko*) was a sport for men, women, and children, where there were beaches that made it possible. Surf riders never stood erect as in Hawaii. The surfboard was called *papa a'a tai*. Dordillon gives *pakoao* as a term used for an amusement participated in by two people, one being borne inshore on the crest of a breaker while another person, coming from the shore, passed under him.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 Top spinning (*niu patu*) was a favorite pastime of boys. It seems that in ancient times tops (*niu*) were spun both by whipping and with a cord. In the story of Pohu it is recounted how Pohu won a top-spinning contest with his top, which was named Te-niu-to'o-i-Fiti.

In the same story other competitions are mentioned, such as stilt walking, drum beating, and playing musical instruments. Another game of boys was kite flying. Kites (*pako*) were made of bark cloth in the form shown in figure 27, *c*. Boys amused themselves by shooting shrimps and small fish in holes with small bows (*pana*) and bamboo darts (*kohe*), and put in much time also in practicing with the sling and spear, and at the games played by the men (*vaeake, teka, kaokao*).

Langsdorff (18, pp. 172-173) describes the following game:

> Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end, through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is struck a little ball of cocoa thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air, and the dexterity of the thing is to catch it again upon the point of the peg.

Children of both sexes amused themselves by walking on half coconut-shells. The foot was placed on the convex surface. A string, which was attached to the shell, passed up between the toes and was held taut in the hands. Another child's game, called *pohutu*, was played with small balls made of *fau* leaves rolled up and bound with strips of pandanus. These were swung on a cord and batted with the hand. The balls made in this way were also used in the game called *pei*, which is described sepa-

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

lar to that generally called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, but placed in an inverted position, the hypothenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. These, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbour.

LETTER XV.

Madison's Island.—Typee War.

The Taeehs, the Happahs, and Shouemes, now made fresh complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one tribe they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Taeehs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence, and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Taeehs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determineed to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure. He and his people concluded it, therefore, the wisest to

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ARTICLES USED IN GAMES

481 This section includes the various objects which were used by the natives in their sports and amusements. The best known and most striking of these 526 toys are the stilts.

STILTS

Marquesan stilts are made in two parts, a shaft and a step. A modern stilt is illustrated on Plate LXVIII, *A*. The shaft consists of a round pole of some light wood, usually fau, with a diameter of 2 to 3 inches and a length of 5 to 7 feet. In the best made specimens the upper end is carved into a rounded grip. The stilt shafts are carved with simple designs.

For convenience in description the step may be considered as having two parts, a long lower section, which rests against the shaft, and a projecting upper portion or foot rest. In an average specimen the lower section is 9½ inches long, with a width of 1¾ inches at the upper end and one inch at the lower end. The inner side is slightly concave, to fit the stilt shaft, the concavity being deepest at the top. The foot rest in the shape of a broad hook, with a strongly convex outer, and slightly convex inner surface, and a rounded end.

532 In the commonest type of ancient stilt steps (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 2) the space
481 between the lower section and the foot rest is bridged by a small human figure, its
526 buttocks and legs carved in high relief upon the lower section, while its head rests against the foot rest.

The whole effect is that of an Atlantid or Caryatid. The space behind the body of the figure is pierced and serves as an eye through which the lashings are passed. These figures are carved in compliance with the ordinary tiki convention, with a disproportionately large head, short arms, and short flexed legs. The face shows the usual spectacle eyes, scroll ear, flat nose and broad mouth, and the top of the head is encircled by a narrow band bearing simple incised designs. The arms are shown either at the sides, with the hands resting upon the stomach, or raised on either side of the head as if to help support the weight of the foot rest. Most bodies show slight modeling, the line of the collar bone and the nipples and navel being indicated. The entire body and limbs are usually covered with shallow grooves, arranged to conform to the contours, while similar grooves in either straight or geometric patterns, cover both the inner and outer surfaces of the footrest.

In a specimen in the Peabody Museum of Cambridge a whale's tooth pendant from a cord is carved in low relief around the neck of the figure.

There were a number of variations from this form of step. Two figures carved back to back were often used with their sides against the step, or two figures were placed one above the other, the lowest carved in high relief, while the body of the upper figure was in the round. In this design the upper figure was frequently represented as kneeling (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 1). A specimen in the Bishop Museum is decorated with two superposed figures of rather fantastic form, and has flat tiki faces carved on the foot rest. (Pl. LXVIII, *B*, 3). The space behind the figures is pierced. This specimen is obviously modern and unused, and it seems probable that it is a degenerate example made for sale.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The step was attached to the shaft by sennit lashings passed around both, one set of these lashings covering the space behind the tiki figure while the second set of lashings encircled the step below it. The shaft was wrapped with tapa at the point where the step was attached. Black and red sennit are said to have been used for the lashings and it is probable that the strands were laid on in ornamental designs. The stilts were used in the ordinary European way, the instep of the foot resting against the shaft. The upper end of the shaft was grasped in the hand and lifted at each step. 481 526

The ancient Marquesans are said to have been unusually expert stilt walkers, running races over smooth pavements and engaging in knocking down contests. Native boys now engage in these contests. The antagonists face one another and, balancing on one stilt, extend the other stilt and make a quick swinging blow at the bottom of the enemy's stilt, recovering instantly. The sport continues until one or the other falls.

In view of the mountainous nature of the country, and the lack of soft or even level ground, it seems impossible that stilts could have been developed locally. They were used in Hawaii, the Society Islands and New Zealand, but do not appear to have been used in Samoa or Tonga. It seems safe, therefore, to consider them as a feature of the marginal, as opposed to the western Polynesian culture. [171]

COCONUT SHELLS

Small children frequently walk on coconut shells in solitary play. This sport is possibly related to stilt walking. From the numerous half shells thrown out by the kitchen the child selects two of equal size which are from the stem end of the nut. He then passes a loop of string through the eyes and inserts the big toe of either foot between the sides of the loops, holding the upper ends in his hands. In walking he lifts the shells by the loop at each step. The game seems to be a solitary one, the child stamping back and forth over the pavement of the house *paepae* and enjoying the clatter.

DARTS

One of the most important Marquesan games was dart throwing, called *teka*. This game is still occasionally played, and a few of the darts were seen. 526

The darts are made from straight pieces of upland reed or from hard wood switches and are about four feet long and one-half inch thick at the head. They are prepared simply by stripping off the leaves.

In playing the game a level open place is chosen.

A small round mound of hard earth is built, and the darts are thrown against this in such a way that they glance up and on down the course. The dart which travels farthest is the winner. The darts are sometimes thrown with a card (*aho*) which is a thin string, knotted at one end. One end is wrapped once around the dart near its center, being held in place by the tension at the knot, while the other end of the throwing cord is wraoped around the first finger, and the shaft grasped with the rest of the hand, keeping the cord taut. When the dart is thrown the cord causes it to rotate, making it fly straighter.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

526 There appears to have been a second dart throwing game in which somewhat heavier darts were used.

In this game the darts were thrown at a mark. In throwing, the larger end of the dart was balanced upon the palm of the left hand, while the smaller end was held in the right hand with the index finger across the tip. The darts were held at about the height of the waist and were propelled with an underhand motion.

[171] Games similar to the Marquesan *teka* were of nearly universal occurence in Polynesia.

POHUTU

Pohutu consisted of bundles of fau leaves rolled up and bound with pandanus strips, the whole forming a ball about two inches in diameter. One of the pandanus strips was left projecting for some inches to form a handle. The game was played by a single child who held the pandanus strip in one hand and batted the ball with the other, or by two children, one of whom held the strip while the other struck the ball. *Pohutu* were also used in the *pei* game, in which geneologies were repeated. The *pei* game, as described by Handy, suggests a close resemblance between the *pohutu* and the well known *poi* balls used by the Maori.

BALL AND PIN GAME

524 Langsdorff (38, pp. 172-3) describes a toy concerning which no information was obtained. He says:

Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end through which is run a peg five or six inches in length, and at the point of the peg is stuck a little ball of coco-thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air. The game is to catch the ball upon the point of the peg. It is very probable that they have other objects of amusement of a similar kind, which may be ranged as playthings, but no others came under my observation.

TOPS

Tops, called *niu*, are still extensively made and used in the group. They are made of fau wood, an average specimen being 7 inches long and 2½ inches in diameter, with a cylindrical body and pointed head. The shape is almost exactly that of an ordinary artillery shell. They are spun by means of a whip. This whip consists of a stick handle about one foot in length with a lash of fau bark 2½ to 3 feet long, which is braided to within a few inches of the tip. Several boys usually play at tops at the same time, the winner being the one who can keep his top in motion the longest.

BOW AND ARROW, AND SLINGS

526 411 The bow, called *pana*, was not a weapon in the Marquesas. It was sometimes used to shoot shrimp, and *po'oko*, a small fish which frequents the rocks,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

but as these could be captured by other and much easier methods its seems probable that the shooting was a sport, and that the bow was only a toy. No Marquesan bows seem to have survived, but according to information obtained by Handy they were made of guava or *toa* wood while the arrows consisted of shoots of bamboo, pointed at one end. The arrows, and the species of bamboo from which they were made, were called *kohe*. The bow string was called *aho*. The form of the musical bows now in use would suggest that Marquesan bows were semi-circular in cross section, with a flat outer and rounded inner surface, but this is purely surmise.

Elaborately made slings were employed in warfare, while a smaller and cruder form was used by boys as a toy. These toy slings were made from ti leaves, which were braided together to form the cords, while the pocket was formed by the natural width of the leaf. In use the long end of the cord was wrapped around the hand and the short, or release end, held between the thumb and finger.

WEAPONS

Every Marquesan tribe was normally at war with its neighbors, but the warfare does not appear to have been of a very deadly character, consisting for the most part of desultory raids for heads or to capture victims for sacrifice. The native armament was entirely offensive and consisted of slings, and of various types of spears and clubs. The bow, although known, appears never to have been used in war.

In spite of their knowledge of the sling, stones thrown by hand played an important part in Marquesan warfare, the shorter range of such missiles being compensated for by their greater accuracy. Any Marquesan battlefield would offer an abundance of ammunition, and, to judge from the modern natives, a stone throwing warrior would be decidedly dangerous up to forty or fifty yards.

SLINGS

Slings, with specially prepared sling stones, were used for all long range fighting. The stones were oval or double conical and sometimes weighed as much as half a pound (Pl. LXX, *B*). They were made of heavy close grained rock and the specimens seen were symmetrically pecked, but unground. Porter (49, pp. 86-87) says that they were highly polished by rubbing against the bark of a tree. According to one informant, round sling stones were also used, but the only specimen seen appeared to be unworked. In battle the stones were carried in nets slung from the waist, or, in sea fights, were piled in the bottom of the canoe.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Musical Instruments

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Shell trumpet	Cassis and triton shells, latter with separate mouth piece	Triton shells with separate mouth piece	Cassis shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece	Triton shells, no separate mouth piece
Wooden trumpet	Important	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used	Not used
Drum	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Canoe shaped, also wooden gongs	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Vertical cylindrical with skin head	Horizontal slotted	Horizontal slotted
Mouth flute	Important, one form tunable	Important, no tunable form	Not used	Not used	Present but rare	Rare or absent
Nose flute	Important	Present	Important	Important	Not used	Present
Musical bow	Present	Not used	Highly developed, with three strings	No data	Not used	Not used
Jew's harp	Present	Not used	Form identical with Marquesan	No data	Not used	Not used
Slotted bamboo	Not used	Not used	Not used	Important	(?)	Not used
Lengths of bamboo beaten on ground	Not used	Not used	Present	Not used	Important	Present

Toys

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Stilts	Important	Present	Present but rare	Present	Not used	Not used
Surf board	Present	Present	Important	Present	Present	Not used
Dart throwing	Important	Important	Present	Present	Present	Present
Bowling	Not used	Not used	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Coasting	Not used	Children only	Important	Not used	Not used	Not used
Kites	Present	Important	Present	Children only	Not used	Not used
Draft game	Not used	Present	Present	Not used	Not used	Not used

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/32 cont./ 826 832 757

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

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/39 cont./

Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor. [551]

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 834 883 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu. 526 832 [177] [197]

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883